

A Scheme for Uniting the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland, different from any that has been hitherto laid down.

THE conveniency, if not the necessity of the Union of the two Kingdoms, is no longer a Dispute with those Men that have given themselves the leisure to think of this weighty Juncture; but the practicableness of this Union is what most People are in pain for. I should indeed despair of seeing *this Great Work brought to a Happy Conclusion*, did I wish for, or expect an Union, upon any Foot that hitherto hath been propos'd in Print: Your Universal or General Union, which must carry along with it the destruction of the Constitution of both Kingdoms, and the Resurrection of another in their rooms, is no more to be expected than the Annihilation of this World, and the Succession of a new one in its place. Your Federal Union can never subsist long, if it can exist at all, and tends more to Disunite the two Kingdoms from under one Head, than to unite them into one Body; but the Union I wish for, has neither the impossibility of the former, in it, nor the precariousness of the latter.

If we are united so far as is necessary for the benefit of both Kingdoms, and upon that Foot that will remove the Fears and Jealousies of both Nations, and redress the Grievances complain'd of by both sides, Then we are United to all intents and purposes. The Benefit the *Scots* expect from their Union with *England*, is a participation in the *English* Trade, and the benefit the *English* may expect from a Union with *Scotland*, is an enlargement of Trade, especially in the Fishery, and a suitable increase of People to manage that Trade, and to fill up the *English* Fleets and Armies; but chiefly what is wanting to compleat the Happiness of *England*, is Peace and Safety, which *England* scarce ever enjoy'd before the Union of the two Kingdoms under one Head, and can't with Reason expect to have continu'd, unless the said Kingdoms be United into one Body.

But how this Union is to be made, is what I intend to make an Essay upon, and in order to this, I shall follow this Method: First, To touch upon what the Kingdoms are not to be United in; and again what they are to be United in.

As to the First, they are not to be Universally or Generally United; nor so United as to destroy the main Constitution of either Kingdom. We are United already under one Head, and we may be United into one Body.

without confounding and destroying the Laws and Religion of either Country, or Exchanging one for t^other ; For this Reason, Let the Municipal Laws of both Kingdoms continue as they now stand, the *English* Law for the Inhabitants of *England*, and the *Scots* Laws for the Inhabitants of *Scotland* ; Let the Courts of Law and Equity, *Dactors's-Commons*, &c. stand as they are now in *England*, under the same Form and Extent of Power and Jurisdiction as in *England* at this day, and the Courts of the Lords of the Session and Council, the Court of Admiralty and the Commissary Courts of *Scotland*, continue under the same Forms and Extent of Jurisdiction, as they are now at this day in *Scotland*. Let the Parliaments of both Kingdoms continue as they are, and to do every thing they can do now at this day, restrain'd so far only, as shall be hereafter explain'd. Let the Religion of both Countries, or rather Form of Church-Government, continue as they are Establish'd by Law in both Kingdoms. Let the Churches of *England* and *Scotland* stand upon the two Rocks they are built upon with Toleration to Dissenters, and let the Gates of Hell never prevail against either of them, nor the Gates of either of them prevail against t^other ; for the People of both Kingdoms are very well satisfied with their own Forms of Religion, Law, and distributive Justice ; nay, they seem to be fond of them to a high Degree, and no doubt they have Reason to expect no Alteration in those things, and the Union both Nations have occasion for, is to be made up of none of those Forms and Matters, but must arise out of a Communication of Trade, and Unity of Peace and War in both Kingdoms : And this leads me to explain what the Kingdoms shall be United in, which are as follow :

First, *Under one Head, and in Peace and War.*

Secondly, *In an Unity or Communion of Parliaments.*

Thirdly, *In an Unity or Communion of Trade and Taxes.*

Lastly, *In an Unity of Administration in the Publick Revenues of both Kingdoms.*

As for the *First*, We are already possess'd of that, for we are United under one Crown'd Head, and in that Crown'd Head the Prerogative of making Peace and War, is lodg'd by the Fundamental Laws of both Kingdoms ; so I need say no more to this, since we are already fix'd there.

Secondly, The Kingdoms are to be United in an *Unity or Community of Parliaments*, which is of absolute necessity ; for albeit by the Constitution of both Kingdoms, the Prerogative of Peace and War is lodg'd in either Crown, yet the Right of giving Money for the support of the War is uncontestably lodg'd with the People assembled in Parliament, or meeting of Estates, as sometimes in *Scotland* ; and since both Nations are involv'd in one and the same Fate of War and Peace, it's but reasonable, that the People of both Nations should be heard in one and the same Parliament, before they are concluded by this Prerogative of the Crown, or at least before they part with their Money, or Men, for the support of one, or the keeping of the other .

But

But this is but by the by; but what I am to explain is The **HOW**, of the way this Union or Communion of the two Parliaments is to be made and supported; which, with profound submission to the Publick, is of no great difficulty in Speculation, nor can it be in Practice. We have a Precedent of this Union of the two Parliaments, under a very bad Government, and albeit the thing was the best that could be for both Kingdoms, yet the manner of it was the worst that could be too, and all of a piece with the Spirit that then prevail'd; but I am not to make a Criticism upon that Government, being mindful of the Business in hand, which is to draw out the first Lines of this Union or Communion of the two Parliaments, which I would have thus.

When the Kings and Queens of *England* and *Scotland* (who are the same Royal Persons, and stand upon the same Right of Succession in both Kingdoms, so far as the Line of Succession is not alter'd by Law since the Revolution) have occasion, or are oblig'd to call for the Assistance of their Subjects in Parliament, let at the same time the Writs are issued out for the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to the Sheriffs, &c. for the Electing the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of Parliament, let Orders or Writs be issued or given, for choosing a certain Number of *Scots* Peers and Commoners, as shall be agreed by the Act of the Union, and after the manner hereafter describ'd, to meet their King or Queen in Parliament. Let the *Scots* Peers be admitted into the House of Lords, and the *Scots* Commoners into the House of Commons, and let them have the same Priviledge and no more, than every Peer or Commoner has in either House, in Matters that are within the Act of the Union, but in others that are without the Act of the Union, and which relate to the particular Constitution of an *English* Parliament, the Representatives of *Scotland* shall have neither Vote nor Voice; that is, neither a liberty to Speak, or a right to give a Vote; Thus the Jurisdiction of the House of Lords, upon Writs of Error and Appeal, and the Rights of both Houses to propose and amend the Laws, and relieve the hardships of them upon the Petition of the Subject will remain as they are now, and go on without any Obstruction from the *Scots* Members in either House.

And as the Parliament of *Scotland* is to subsist after the Union of the two Kingdoms, as well as the Parliament of *England*, for the Regulation of their Religion, Laws, and good Manners, and doing every thing a *Scots* Parliament can do now, Excepting *Trade, Taxes, Peace and War*, in which the Kingdoms are to be United, and by the *United Council* of both Nations in one Paliament, are to be hereafter determin'd, Let there be a certain Number of *English* Peers and Commoners (the more the better for *Scotland*) to be chosen by each House apart in the first Session of every Triennial Parliament: Let the same Number of *English* Peers and Commoners be admitted into the Parliament of *Scotland*, that of *Scots* Peers and Commoners shall be admitted into the Parliament of *England*, but without any manner of Right and Priviledge to Speak or Vote in that Assembly, unless it

be to make Declaration or Protestation against any Motion, Speech, Voe or Proceeding in the *Scots* Parliament or Members thereof, that may seem to intermeddle with the Act of the Union of the two Kingdoms.

Now as the Union of the two Parliaments after this manner, seems to be Easie and Practicable, I can't find out there can be any difficulty to agree upon the Method of choosing the Representatives of each Nation, in either Parliament, or the Number of them Alternatively.

As for the Manner of choosing the *English* Representatives in a *Scots* Parliament, we have already hinted, that is to be done by the two Houses apart in the first Sessions of every Triennial Parliament, and let this Election be upon the same day that each House chooses their Committees, and let this Election hold for the whole *Triennium* of every *English* Parliament, or for every Sessions of such Parliament, as hereafter shall be found convenient.

As for the manner of choosing the *Scots* Representatives in an *English* Parliament, the Custom of *Scotland* seems to have prepar'd for that. In the *Scots* Parliament there are Three *Estates*, The Nobility make the *first Estate*, the Barons and Representatives of the Shires make the *Second*, and the Burrows or Representatives of Towns and Corporations, make the *Third Estate*: By the custom of *Scotland*, this last Estate of the Burrows have a Right to Assemble once a Year or oftner. What can be easier then, than that this same Convention of Burrows, shall by Orders to be issued out under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, be empower'd to choose a certain Number, out of their Body, to Sit in every *English* Parliament, and Represent there, the Estate of the Burrows of *Scotland*. Sure this is very Practicable and very Natural. Now albeit by the Custom of *Scotland*, there is no such custom as a *Convention of Nobles*, yet let the Act of the Union supply this Defect, and empower the Queen by Proclamation or otherwise, to call a *Convention of Nobles*, for choosing a certain Number of their Body, to Represent their Estate in the *English* Parliament. Both these Conventions can be called to Meet in different Places of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and upon one and the same day, if occasion be, and can finish their Elections within 40 days, that by the Custom of *England* is allotted betwixt the issuing out of Writs for calling a Parliament, and the Meeting of the said Parliament. As for the manner of the Election of the Representatives of the *middle Estate*, the Barons of *Scotland*, in my Opinion, the present Method of Custom in *Scotland*, is the best. That the Landed Men in every Shire choose their own Representatives, as it's in *England*, only I wish by the Act of the Act of the Union, the Queen and her Successors be empower'd to issue out Writs or Orders to the Sheriff of each Shire in *Scotland*, for Conveening the Landed Men in each County for choosing their Representatives to Sit in the *English* Parliament, and by this Method the Elections of the Shires in *Scotland* may be finish'd within the compass of 40 days, and the Elected have time to come to *London* within the said Interval.

Now

Now as to the Number of the Representatives of each Nation in Parliament, is what I hope will not obstruct the Union. The *English* will be very easy in this Matter, they have no reason to contend for a greater Number of *English* Men to Sit in a *Scots* Parliament, than what the *Scots* shall desire of *Scots* Men to Sit in an *English* Parliament, for they can expect nothing but Charge and Trouble by going into *Scotland*, and the more of them go into *Scotland* (the more the better for *Scotland*) the more Money will be spent in *Scotland*, and a better Understanding propagated betwixt both Nations, and better Opportunities offer'd for Alliances, Friendships, and Marriages, and for the Improvement of Trade, and Incouragement of Arts and Sciences. On the other side, the more the *Scots* desire of *Scots* Men out of every Estate, to Sit in an *English* Parliament, it's the worse for themselves, more Money will be carried out of *Scotland*; for the Support and Charge of their Attendance. Upon a due Reflection upon the whole Matter on both sides, I am tempted to Prophecie; That Twelve out of the first Estate, viz. the Nobility, and one out of every Shire in *Scotland* for the Barons, which make but 32. and 12 out of the Burroughs, in all 56, make a greater Number than in Process of time will be desired. By this Scheme the Nobility, tho' they have but 12 directly for their Estate, yet by the Constitution of *Scotland*, they having a Right to Vote in Shires and Corporations, will have an Influence to choose a far greater Number of Barons and Burgesses, and having their Sons Favourites and Dependants chosen for the Representatives of these two Estates: and no doubt this proportion of Number the *Scots* Nobility, have by this Scheme in the Representation of their Country in an *English* Parliament, is equal to, if not more than the Proportion they have in the Ballance of the Strength and Wealth of *Scotland*.

These 56 Members are a sufficient Number of Men to represent any Kingdom, with all the Train of its Wants, Necessities and Grievances; and if it is a very great *Inferiority* to the Number of an *English* Parliament, yet no ill Consequence can happen from that, for under an Union we are but one Nation, one People and Parliament, and have but one and the same Interest and Design; and we may imagine with as much Reason, that the Representatives of the *English* Parliament for the Counties and Corporation, South of *Trent*, should conspire to out-vote the Counties and Corporations of *England*, North of *Trent*, and oppress these Countries with unequal Taxes, &c. as we may fear the *English* Members will out-vote the *Scots* Members, and oppress *Scotland* with unequal Taxes or Partial Laws; and as the former has never happend, so the latter is never to be fear'd.

Thirdly, The Kingdoms are to be United in Trade and Taxes.

By the Act of the Union, let the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* be deem'd one and the same in all respects in Trade and Taxes. *Scotland* shall be consider'd and deem'd as *Yorkshire*, or any other County of *England*, and *England* as the *Louthians*, or any other Shire of *Scotland*. Let there be no Tax, Custom or Imposition whatsoever laid upon the Persons,

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Product or Manufacture of either Kingdom, but the same that is laid on both, and by the *United Parliament* of both Kingdoms as above describ'd. By the same Act, *Scots Men* and *Scots Merchants* and *Traders* shall be deem'd as *English Men* to all intents and purposes, and *Scots Merchants*, and *Scots Ships*, *Scots Masters* and *Mariners* shall be deem'd as *English* built Ships, and as *English Ships*, *Masters* and *Mariners*, and shall Trade by Land and by Water Coast-ways, and over Sea into any part of *England* or *Ireland*, or any part of the *English Plantations* in *Asia*, *Africa* and *America*, and shall there enjoy the same Rights and Privileges as *Englishmen*, *English Masters*, *Ships* and *Mariners* can or may do. On the other hand, *English Merchants* and *Sailers*, may go and Trade into *Scotland* by Land or by Water, and shall be judg'd *Scots Men*, and the Product and Manufacture of *England* shall be judg'd the Product and Manufacture of *Scotland* to all Intents and Purposes. In a word, the Inhabitants of both Kingdoms shall have one and the same Right to Trade every where, with Reservati- on of the Rights and Privileges of the *East-India Companies* of *England* and *Scotland*, Establish'd by Act of Parliament, both which Companies, by the Act of the Union shall be Confirm'd in, and Confin'd to the Right and Privi- leges of these several Establishments, neither Company shall Interfere with the Rights and Privileges of the other Company. The Goods of the *East-India* and *African Company* of *Scotland* shall not be Importable into *England*, nor *vice versa*, the Goods of the *East-India Company* of *England* shall not be Importable into *Scotland*. And with Reservation of the Rights and Privi- leges of other Companies Establish'd by Charter in *England*, and with the Reservation of the Corporations of *England* and *Scotland*, Establish'd by Charter, into which *English* and *Scots Men* may be admitted *hinc inde*, or on both sides by Purchase or Servitude, as *Englishmen* or *Scotsmen* are, but the Companies and Corporations themselves are to remain *statu quo*, after, as before in the Union.

This Scheme of Trade is very plain in Speculations, but how to reduce it to Practice at all, and under the present Circumstances of both Nations, is what seems to be very difficult at first sight, but upon closer View it will not appear impracticable.

In order to this we are to consider, That altho' the *Scots* are Poor, the Publick of *Scotland* is not in debt to the value of one Farthing; and on the other hand, altho' the *English* are Rich, yet the Publick of *England* is under the Debt of many Millions. I dare answer for all the Well-wishers in *England* to the Union of the two Kingdoms, that it's none of their Intention, by Uniting with *Scotland*, to draw the *Scots* into Part-payment of their Debts; nay, indeed I can't suggest any other Thought of *Englishmen* in general, nor can I believe they will ever bear to think or hear, that the *Scots* shall bear any part in the Charge of this present or last War, that were enter'd into, upon *English Views* and *English Interest*; by *English Councils*,
and

and for the Glorious and Inimitable Design of delivering the Princes and States of this Western part of the Continent of *Europe*, from being or falling a Prey to the Power and Ambition of *France*.

This Design was too great for all *Europe*, without an *English* Genius and an *English* Purse, as far as it is above the Pretentions and Abilities of the *Scots*, so no less far was it against their Interest, for which they have no reason to expect to bear any part in the Execution of it: I say this War and the last with *France* is against the Interest of *Scotland*, consider'd in a separate State from *England*, whose main Politick must be to keep well with *France*, for many Ancient Reasons, besides the Modern ones of Trade and Protection. *France* can best support *Scotland* in a separate State from *England*, and is both able and willing to raise the Trade of *Scotland*, by taking off the Prohibition upon their *Poisson Sallée*, Herrings, Salmon, &c. by getting their Linnen and Wollen Manufactures Importable into *Spain* and the *Spanish West-Indies*, which the *French* King is not wanting by his Emiffaries to propose to the *Scots*, together with the Renovation of the Ancient League of *Charles* and *Achaius*, and a Restoration of the Nobility to their Ancient Posts in the Guards and Court of *France*, and of the Merchants to their Ancient Privileges in the Ports of that Kingdom, and a great deal more, if they will break off the Union with *England*; but under Correction I am sensible I go off from the Business in hand, and shall say no more than this upon the whole Matter: It's very hard to believe the *Scots* ought to bear any part in the Charge of this War that was enter'd into without their Advice or Consent, as well as against their Interest.

But the Case will not be the same in Future Wars, under the State of the Union of the two Kingdoms, which can but have one and the same Council and Parliament to Advise and Support them, in which the *Scots* having their Representatives as well as the *English*, Matters will be accommodated as best Suits to the whole and every part of both Kingdoms, to which the *Scots* will submit unanimously and chearfully, the Case, Circumstances and Interest of both Kingdoms, being then one and the same.

But then I know the Reader is impatient to ask what it is the *Scots* are able to pay, and what they are willing to pay towards the Support of the Government in Peace and War? In answer to this, we first must consider both Kingdoms under the Circumstances of Peace at Home and Abroad, and an absolute disincumbrance from Publick Debts; if the Kingdoms are united under these Circumstances, I desire to *Quary*, what will be sufficient for the Civil List, and for Guards and Garrisons? It will be answered me, That *Seven hundred Thousand* for the Civil List, and *Three hundred Thousand Pounds* for Guards and Garrisons, is near about the Sum given to the late King and her present Majesty, and is sufficient for *England* in times of Peace. For *Scotland*, I must answer it will be an Addition of Charge to her Majesty in the Civil List, and in Guards and Garrisons likewise; but so small a Charge that *Scotland* will do more than pay her

Proportion of both; as hereafter will appear. The Civil List in *Scotland* will come to nothing, or next to nothing, under an Union with *England*. The Treasury, Exchequer, Customs and Excise of *Scotland* will be swallow'd up in the *English* Administration of the Publick Revenue, and yet will be no manner of additional Charge to the Revenue of *England*, besides a few Salaries to Inferior Officers of Customs and Excise.

And for what remains of the Civil List of *Scotland* is as follows;

Lord Chancellor	2000 L.
Lord President of the Council	1000
Lord President of the Session	1000
14 Lords of Sessions or Judges, at 500 l. each.	7000
2 Clerks to the Council	500
To the Queen's Advocat	500
To the Queen's Solicitor	300
One Secretary of State.	1000
	13300

This is all the remaining part of the Civil List of *Scotland*, which will be a Charge upon Her Majesty's Revenue under a State of Union with *England*. As for the Charge of Her Majesty's Commissioner to the *Scots* Parliament, that will fall to little or nothing; for since the *Scots* Parliament are not to meddle with any thing of Money-Matters, there will be no occasion for High Tables, great Pomp and great Shew; indeed, if the House was left to adjourn it self, as in *England*, it would be a great Amendment to the Constitution of a *Scots* Parliament, and take off the Necessity of having any Commissioner at all; a Letter from the Queen, Impowering the Lord Chancellor, or any other Person, to mount the Throne, and give the Touch of the Scepter to such Acts as are ready for the Royal Assent, will answer all the Business of a Commissioner.

The Guards and Garrisons of *Scotland* will for some time, indeed be a Charge of Sixty Thousand Pounds to Her Majesty's Revenue; I reckon two Regiments of Foot, and two of Dragoons, and a Regiment of Horse, at the Pay of Twelve Thousand Pound each, will maintain a far greater Army in *Scotland*, than ever King *Charles* or King *James* kept in *Scotland*. But this Charge cannot last long; if at all Necessary, it can be but for a very short time, but at the worst it can be but Sixty Thousand Pound, which with the Charge of the Civil Lists, being Thirteen Thousand three Hundred Pounds, as aforesaid, makes but Seventy Three Thousand Three Hundred Pound, and this being added to the One Million, for the *English* Charge of the Guards and Garrisons and Civil Lists, makes but One Million, Seventy Three Thousand, Three Hundred Pounds.

And

And now I come to answer the Question, what the *Scots* are willing to pay, or able to pay, in times of Peace. They are able to pay their Proportion of this Money, and they will do it most chearfully, for they can do it with far better Ability and less Charge to themselves, than what has been rais'd from *Scotland* for the Support of the Government there, since the Restoration of the Royal Family.

In order to raise this Sum of Money, Let the two Branches of the Revenue of *England*, viz. The Customs and Excise be set apart, and let these Branches be extended over *Scotland* as well as *England*; and let them be appropriated, by the Act of the Union of the two Kingdoms, for Guards and Garisons and the Civil List. These two Branches the Reader will agree with me, are more than sufficient to raise the *Million, Seventy Three Thousand, Three Hundred Pounds* above required, and when extended over *Scotland*, will still raise more. But by the Customs and Excise, I mean the simple Act of Tunnage and Poundage, and the two Acts of Excise of *Charles the Second*, of *Fifteen Pence* each the Barrel upon Beer and Ale, which two Branches will still raise more Money than the *One Million, Seventy Three Thousand, Three Hundred Pound* demanded; and when extended over *Scotland*, They will not fall near so heavy upon the *Scots*, as the present and past Taxes, which they pay now, and have paid towards the support of the Civil List and Guards and Garrisons of *Scotland*, since the Revolution.

By the Act of Tunnage and Poundage, the *Scots* Merchants and Traders will pay much about the same they do now, with their *Scots* Book of Rates, but will save five parts in eight in their Duties upon Wine, which by that Act is but 3 *l.* per Tun for *French* Wines, and so in proportion for all other Wines.

As for the Excise, the *Scots* will not grudge to pay according to the two Acts of the 12th of *Charles the II.* By which Act the *Scots* Ale and Beer cannot be judged above six Shillings the Barrel, every Barrel being 32 Gallons, according to the Standard in the *Exchequer*, which is answerable to 32 *Scots* Quarts. The Ale of *Scotland* (Beer they have none in that Country worth the noticing or distinguishable from their Ale) and when sold by the Common Brewer generally over *Scotland*, will not amount to six Shillings the Barrel, and by the Custom and Practice of the Excise Office of *England*, will be judged and deemed so by the Gauger or Officer of the Excise. Indeed I am of Opinion the Acts of Excise want to be review'd for the General Benefit both of the People of *England* and her Majesty's Revenue: And it is to be wish'd the Act may run upon these Partitions. Every Barrel of Beer or Ale, not above six Shillings the Barrel, to pay six pence per Barrel; and every Barrel of Beer and Ale above six Shillings per Barrel, and not exceeding ten, to pay one shilling per Barrel, ('tis to be wish'd the *Scotch* Excise may be fix'd upon this partition) and every Barrel of Beer and Ale above ten Shillings and not exceeding One Pound six

Shillings *per* Barrel, to pay two Shillings and six Pence the Barrel; and every Barrel of Beer and Ale above One Pound six Shillings *per* Barrel, to pay four shillings *per* Barrel, over and above the additional nine pences laid on the Barrels of Ale and Beer since the Revolution; by this Scheme the strong Ale Countries will be brought to some Level with the small Ale Countries, and the Fine Ale Brewers, with the Porter's Liquor Brewer; and indeed it's unaccountable, that a Barrel of Ale at seven shilling, sold by the Common Brewer, shall pay as much as a Barrel of Ale sold by the same Brewer at sixteen shillings, one pound, or three pound the Barrel; and that a Man by drinking strong Ale, should get the better of the Publick by two Thirds in the Excise.

Now since it's agreed, that these two Branches of the Customs and Excise being sufficient to answer the Charge of the Civil List, Guards and Garisons of both Kingdoms, and since the *Scots* are willing to pay according to the Laws establishing the Customs and Excises of Beer and Ale, &c. according to the Letter and Equity of the Act of Tunnage and Poundage, and the Acts of Excise of the 12th of *Charles II.* and according to the Practice and Method of the Excise and Customs of *England*, what can be required more of them? Sure the additional Duties to the Act of Tunnage and Poundage, and the additional Customs now in force in *England*, and the additional Nine-pences upon the Barrel of Ale and Beer; and the New Duties upon Salt and Malt, Paper, Births and Burrials, &c. ought not to be expected to be paid by the *Scots*; for these new and additional Duties, Customs and Excises are the Sores and Wounds of the last War, and are the proper Debts of *England*, which neither the *Scots* can or ought to pay; and this is no more than what was agreed by the Commissioners of the Union the first Year of Her Majesty's Reign, That both Kingdoms should pay their several Debts, and neither Kingdom be affected with the Debt of the other.

And in times of War, that is Future Wars, enter'd into after the Expiration of this present War, the *Scots* will be able to pay a Poundage upon Land of one, two, or more shillings, or additional Customs and Excises, as well as most of the Northern Counties in *England*. Land and Trade in *Scotland* will improve in *Scotland* under an Union with *England*, the one in Value and Rent; and the other in Extent and Bulk; and so much as there is of Land in *Scotland*, and how much that Land is improvable, or how much the Trade of *Scotland* is Increasable, so much will there be added to the Stock of *England*.

I know it will be a ready Objection, That if the People of *Scotland* pay but according to this Act of Tunnage and Poundage, and the two Acts of Excise of *Charles II.* they will be thereby enabled to run away with the Trade of *England*, and underlive and undersel what *Englishmen* can do for. But to this ready Objection, I have this ready Answer, That it's to be understood the *Scots* shall pay no more than according to the foremention'd Acts of Customs and Excises; that is, within the present District and Bounds

Bounds of *Scotland*; but if the *Scots* import any manner of Goods or Commodities into *England*, for which they have already paid the Custom according to the foremention'd Acts of Tunnage and Poundage in *Scotland*, as by Certificate will appear, they shall be liable to pay the additional Duties in any Port of *England*, where the saids Goods or Merchandises are entred and landed. Thus the Ballance of Trade will after the Union remain as before the Union, and what the *Scots* save of their Customs and Excises, is always to be understood of their Home-Consumption within the present District of *Scotland*.

On the other hand, the *Scots* will be ready to suggest, they shall be no Gainers under these low Customs and Excises, since they are in *England*, liable to the high Ones as well as *Englishmen*; but on the other hand they are to consider, that they being under the low Customs and Excises at home, it will be a mighty Benefit to them; for their Living and Manufacturing of every thing among themselves: But above all they are to consider, That upon the day they are United with *England*, the Value of the Land in *Scotland* will rise Fifty per Cent. and in progress of time will double, nay treble the present Rental. The price of Corn and Meal will rise proportionably; and the Poor and poor Labourer and Tradesmen, upon the Increase of Trade in *Scotland* by the Union, will have the Money ready to pay for his Corn and Victuals and other Necessaries, ten times faster than at the low Rate. This is a Demonstration to all Men, that have any Experience or Insight in Trade, and such Persons as are but doubtful of this, let them ask those Persons yet alive that can remember the *English* Administration in *Scotland*, from the Year 1654, to the Year 1660. They won't stick to tell them, that the Price of Meal, raise then from half a Merk *Scots*, to half a Crown *English*; and upon the withdrawing of the *English* Administration upon the Restoring of King *Charles II.* the Price of Meal fell to half a Merk *Scots* again; and yet the poor Labourer had the half Crown readier to pay under the *English* Administration, than the half Merk after the Return of King *Charles II.* The Reason was plain, under *Cromwel*, *Richard* and the *Rump*, was an Unity of Parliament, Trade and Customs betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, and under the same Unity and good Understanding betwixt the two Kingdoms, the same Benefits will return to both Nations. Now I come to consider the last thing propos'd,

Which is an *Unity of Administration in the publick Revenue of both Kingdoms.*

The Kingdoms being United under one Parliament in a Communion of Trade and Taxes; it's of absolute necessity they should be under one and the same Administration in the Publick Revenue. The Constitution and Method of the Treasury, the Exchequer, the Custom and Excises of *England*, are so far superior to any thing of these kinds that are to be found in *Scotland*, that I dare say the *Scots* will not contend for their Forms and Methods in these Matters, but drop them with Satisfaction. But at the same time they may expect with good Assurance, to see their Country-men pro-
vided

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vided for with Places in these Offices, in proportion to their Merit, and without any distinction or Reserve betwixt them and Englishmen: Thus the Treasury and Exchequer of England, together with the Offices of Customs and Excise of England, shall stand as they are now established. But their Authority shall be enlarg'd over all Scotland as well as England, and all Frauds and Abuses in the Revenue shall be tried by the Act of Tonnage and Poundage; and the two Acts of Excise of the 12th of Charles II. and other Acts and Clauses of Acts made since for preventing of Frauds and Abuses, and the better Management of the Revenue of the Crown, which are but very few, and ly within a small compass.

But then the Question will arise, Before whom shall the Trespasses in Scotland against the Act be tried; upon Action at Law at the Suit of the Queen, or the Subject? The English Judges cannot have them tried before them; their Circuits cannot hold Assizes in Scotland, and it would be very hard to fetch the Subject and their Actions from the remote Parts of Scotland to Newcastle, and have them try'd there, and that but once a Year. On the other hand, these Actions cannot be try'd before the Scots Judges; for the Revenues of Customs and Excise being within the Union, cannot be try'd or judg'd by them, nor can they any manner of ways interpose their Authority in these Cases. To obviate this, I would propose by the Act of the Union to have a Court of Revenue erected in Scotland, to judge of all Actions brought at the Suit of the Queen and the Subject, upon Acts of Parliament and Lawys relating to the Revenue of the Crown. This Court to consist of five Persons, two of which to be the Surveyers-General of Customs and Excise in Scotland for the time being, and three others to be Named by the Queen, English and Scots, as her Majesty shall think fit, with power to try and finally judge and determine all Causes and Actions brought before them, relating to the Revenue. But no Action shall ly before them untill two Months or 60 days after Seizure made by the Queen's Officer; in which Interval, the Subjects may have time to apply themselves to the Commissioners of Customs, in Person or by Proxy, to have Justice done them to their Satisfaction; but after the expiration of two Months or sixty days, they may have recourse to the Commissioners of Revenue for a Trial before them.

The Acts and Law relating to the Publick Revenue, are so few and so plain and easy, that it is not requisite to have a long Study and Practice in the Municipal Laws of either Kingdom, to Qualify any Gentleman to be a Judge in this Court, and the Court it self may be so form'd, as to give all dispatch possible with all Safety to the Interest of the Revenue, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

Thus I'm come to the end of my Essay, and how far I have succeeded in it, I must leave that to the Publick, to whom I pray for the same Temper of Mind in reading it, with which I have compos'd it, without Partiality to either Kingdom, but with a sincere, firm, and constant Zeal for the Union of Both.

F I N I S.